

PEACE NEWS

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LABOUR'S CHANCE TO LEAD EUROPE

Observer's Commentary

BITAIN'S share in the general European landslide to the Left has taken the appropriate democratic form of a clear and forthright parliamentary majority for the Labour Party, for the first time in British history. It is an event of tremendous potential significance. We say potential, because there is, alas, a possibility that its significance may be negative.

Labour in office may come a mighty cropper.

The post-war situation is full of difficulties of a kind with which we have no grounds for confidence that the Labour Party is capable of dealing. On the other hand, Labour in power is an unknown quantity; and it may have the latent constructive capacity required.

A return of Churchill's Conservatives would have been hopeless: equally hopeless would have been Labour in office, but not in power. Now Labour is in office and in power: and we shall see what it can do. We can have hope.

If Labour fails it will be its own fault: due to its own lack of vision, its inward dissensions, its deficiency in clear purpose. To us it seems that all these criticisms can be justified on Labour's past record. But we do not exclude the possibility that Labour may rise to the occasion, now that it has a clear mandate from the country to do its best.

Two-party system

ONE thing the result of the election has made quite clear: that the various splinter parties—Common Wealth, ILP, the various Independents, and the Scottish Nationalist—which made a brave showing during the war-period, did so simply because they were the only available opposition. If Labour had gone into opposition at any time in the past two years, it would clearly have swept the board. The National Government had become generally unpopular. It had outlived whatever mandate it ever had.

Another important point which emerges is that the political instinct of the country still holds strongly to the two-party system. The third party tends to be eliminated. In theory, the Liberals had quite a chance of recovering some of the ground they had lost in the past twenty years: but, in fact, they have lost still more. Even Sir William Beveridge could not get in.

My own personal opinion (which is perhaps somewhat heretical in the PPU) is that the two-party system, however illogical and unrepresentative it may appear, is necessary to effective democracy. It gives the Government a chance to govern. Labour now has the chance.

The T.U. brake

AS a necessary condition of Labour having an absolute majority, one

very important change has happened. The genuinely political Labour members heavily outnumber and outweigh the Trade Union officials. These Labour politicals are a mixed bag. Some of them must be feeling very surprised to find themselves in Parliament at all; some of the younger ones, on the other hand, are of very high quality indeed—the Crossmans, the Durbins, the Mikardos, to name them generically—men who have a clear understanding of the necessity and the difficulty of reconciling Socialism and Democracy. These may give the movement a positive determination, capable of overcoming the paralysis which lies in wait for democratic Socialism in this country.

That paralysis may come—and will come, if there is not the determination to prevent it—from the obstinate clinging of the Trade Unions to their privileged positions, their sectional bargaining, their differential wage-rates. Trade Unionism, as it exists in Britain today, is almost as much an anachronism as the Federation of British Industries: and unless it undergoes a radical change of mind it will obstruct the reconstruction of British society as effectively as the other vested interests have done in the past.

Pattern for Europe

THIS is the crux. This is why The Economist can say—I think truly—that if the Labour Party does not make good, in its period of power, it will probably be the end of political democracy in this country: for unless democracy can achieve socialism by

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE.)

OLD AND NEW

THE advent of the new Labour Government brings nearer to urgency in this country the moral and social issue which confronts the world.

Is a new and higher conception and practice of social responsibility possible in an industrialized society: or does social revolution merely mean the supersession of one class-society by another, in which the functional hierarchy necessary in all societies is also a hierarchy of economic and social privilege?

We pacifists, whether we are fully aware of it or not, are committed to work for a society based on brotherhood: a society in which justice, if not superseded by, is at any rate mightily leavened by love. That was the original motive of the Socialist movement in Britain. That is why Socialism and Pacifism were so closely identified here. It is our business now to strive for a rebirth or renewal of that identification. Help Peace News in the work.

Contributions since July 20: £8 18s. 7d. Total to date: £5,896 0s. 8d.

THE EDITOR

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NEW GOVERNMENT & NEW WORLD ORDER:

The people have a part to play

P.P.U. LONDON DEMONSTRATION

A strong plea to the people of this country to urge the new Labour Government to carry out a far-reaching international policy that would lay the foundations of a lasting peace was made by speakers at the Peace Pledge Union demonstration "Peace and the People" held in Trafalgar Square on Saturday.

Sybil Morrison took the chair and in her opening remarks recalled that the Labour Party at one time stood for the removal of the causes of war and the refusal to fight imperialist wars. The PPU was prepared to work to convince the new Government that they must return to their pacifist policy.

THE WORLD ASPECT

Reginald Sorensen, Labour MP for Leyton, hailed the victory of the Labour Party as not merely a victory for the working classes or the people of this country but for the common people of the whole world. "If we do not lay the foundation of a new international order, a world in which the common people of every land have a chance to live" he declared, "the western world is damned and doomed."

Harry Hilditch, referring to the San Francisco Conference, pointed out that it completely failed to examine and remove the political and economic stresses and strains that gave rise to war. The price of peace was renunciation of all the privileges of a major Power and a great empire.

Wilfred Wellock also emphasised the necessity of a radical change in outlook and policy. We were now about to embark upon an even more intensive war for world markets. We must give up the whole idea that we had to be producers for the greater part of the world and allow the nations to decide what they wished to produce for their own needs.

Donald Port pointed out that while believing in democracy and freedom the people of this country had been forced to use the weapons of fascism and totalitarianism. Fascism found its fullest expres-

sion in war, democracy and socialism in total peace. It was necessary to convince every man and woman who had been in the armed forces that they must now turn their attention to the creation of total peace.

Roy Walker, PPU Public Action Secretary, described the plight of hungry Europe and urged the people to demand that at least 1,000,000 tons of our reserve stocks should go to the Continent this winter. Whatever we did would only be first-aid, for the problem had already reached such dimensions that it was beyond the present resources of the United Nations.

Stuart Morris appealed to Mr. Attlee to find out if the Japanese war could be stopped on the basis of negotiation rather than to continue it on the basis of unconditional surrender. We had been told that Japan had already made an offer of peace and was ready to accept the most drastic peace terms, including the disarmament of her forces and the democratization of her government.

John Morley delivered a vigorous attack on conscription and appealed to the people of this country to remove it from the Statute Book and to refuse to submit to it.

The individual pacifist approach was represented by Mary Murry who said that somehow we must so live that the simple human values of love and trust and generosity could be preserved.

The Rev. Dan Thomas put the point of view of the Christian pacifist, and declared there would be no hope of peace until we took the Gospel of Christ seriously.

Patrick Figgis, PPU General Secretary, concluded the meeting with a direct appeal to men and women to renounce war now that they knew what war meant. "In every country there are some people who think as we do," he said. "Even in Germany there are several thousand men who refused to take part in war."

Part of the crowd

Part of the crowd at Saturday's Peace Pledge Union demonstration in Trafalgar Square (reported above). The speaker is Stuart Morris. Before the meeting, PPU members paraded with posters from their Headquarters to the Square. Peace News sellers sold over 350 copies of the paper, and a good deal of pacifist literature was also sold. Many people displayed a keen interest in the pamphlets on sale. It was the first demonstration to be organized by the PPU since the end of hostilities in Europe, and during the afternoon a crowd that in all totalled about 6,000 people listened attentively—the average attendance throughout being about 2,000. "It is in some sense a world-wide movement that we represent," the PPU's General Secretary told them at the end of the meeting.



Photo: Jack Mayes

Conscription protest

EVERY Labour MP is being sent a copy of an emergency resolution, adopted by the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union last weekend, which deplored:

"the reported decision of the TUC General Council to adopt the principle of permanent military conscription for this country and urges the Parliamentary Labour Party to resist any attempt to get the Government to accept that principle, as it would be a retrograde step for Britain, with its tradition of liberty, and would make a mockery of the claim that the war was fought to rid the world of militarism. We urge, on the contrary, that conscription be abolished not later than the end of the war with Japan, and that security be sought by arbitration on all occasions that threaten war and through policies which remove the causes of war."

The resolution was also passed to the PPU Public Action Committee for appropriate action.

(See page 4, col. 2.)

PEACE NEWS

3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.
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should be addressed to the Manager

Leaders and led

THE overwhelming defeat of Mr. Churchill at this moment of victory is the best thing that could have happened. His defeat is by far the most effective proclamation Britain could have made to Europe that democracy still lives and is still a vital form of political organization. It is a trumpet-blast indeed.

In spite of the downfall of Hitler and Mussolini, the idea that the "leader" is necessary to the salvation of society had gained ground in Europe. Though the Führer and the Duce had departed, Generalissimo Stalin became the more of a Colossus, bestriding the narrow world. Pendent to him appeared a de Gaulle and a Tito. Roosevelt and Churchill were, indeed, leaders of another kind. But we doubt whether the difference was really apparent to the common man of Europe. Roosevelt was removed by a natural death. Death comes to all. So might Hitler have been removed; so one day will Stalin.

But Churchill's removal is by the evident act of a sovereign people, which thereby declared to all the world that in the conviction of a great democracy the leader for war is not the leader for peace. War is the exception, the emergency, the abnormal condition; and leadership in war confers no title to leadership in peace.

That conception is essential to democracy. That it has been proclaimed, with such simple clarity, to all the world is something for which we must be devoutly thankful. For the most sinister feature of the new forms of social organization which have spread like a disease through Europe is that they are shaped, from top to bottom, by the idea of war. Organization for war and organization for peace are indistinguishable and continuous. The idea of society is the idea of an army: and so is the reality.

But unless organization for peace and organization for war are clearly conceived as generically different, the unholy combination of socialism and militarism becomes inevitable. In other words, the central problem of democracy, when it reaches the stage at which socialism becomes economi-

cally necessary, is the problem of creating the necessary social discipline without recourse to the methods of militarism. At the pre-socialist stage of a democratic society that discipline is provided in an indirect and rough and ready fashion by the blind economic compulsion of poverty. If this compulsion is removed (as socialism must remove it), then the choice lies between discipline by regimentation and discipline by consent.

The mere reaction against discipline by regimentation does not and cannot carry society forward to discipline by consent. That depends on the acceptance of a new social morality. Are the majority of Englishmen prepared for this? We shall see. At present, we know that they have not been scared by the idea of control; and probably they have a vague faith that necessary control and essential liberties can and will be reconciled.

We have no doubt that they can; but this calls for a higher conception of responsible citizenship than we have yet achieved in this country. The major task of the Labour Government is to inspire the citizen with a new conception of the co-operative commonwealth: with the idea that the only free society is the society in which men and women of their own free will do their utmost for the common good. In such a free society functional subordination has to be divorced from economic inequality. This is, without doubt, a lofty ideal: but it is the historic ideal of British socialism. We shall not reach it quickly: but unless our course is steadily set towards it, we shall find ourselves steadily drifting away from democracy towards totalitarianism and a new form of class society.

... there's a way

by F. A. LEA

This is the concluding part of the article, "Where there's a will . . ." which we published a fortnight ago.

HOW can the members of a body like the PPU make at least an experiment in the conduct of everyday, bread-winning occupations according to moral principles?—Such principles as the Church desires to see realised in private life now, and the Party to see realised in public life then? The only answer so far given to this question is—"Community."

But pacifists, I am told, are "disillusioned" with community. It is an odd expression, this "disillusioned." People talk about disillusionment these days as though it meant the loss of all that makes life worth living; and yet, though it must be highly gratifying to the inmate of Colney Hatch to be persuaded that he is Queen Elizabeth or Charlie Chaplin, I have never heard that this particular illusion was conducive to effective action in the world; and I seriously doubt whether its removal is not a thing to be welcomed rather than deplored, or regarded even as a preliminary rather than an end to usefulness. Disillusionment, if it is not a mere excuse for self-pitying passivity, is an unpleasant but wholesome medicine.

Escapism?

I also am disillusioned with community; perhaps more so than those who never had any illusions—more, it may even be, than those who have never tried community. But I am inclined to be thankful that I can now see it for what it really is: especially as the real thing seems so much more worth-while than the imaginary.

I am told, however, that community is not merely disillusioning but "escapist" (apparently it requires more courage to keep illusions than to lose them). Another favourite expression with the intelligentsia, this!

When applied to community, it is usually accompanied by some sinister references to "a return to the Middle Ages," "monastic isolation" etc.—

and one catches a stirring glimpse of the pacifist intellectual heroically resisting the seductions of poverty, celibacy and obedience. As though the social and political contacts of the man working with ten subordinates for profit were inevitably so much more fruitful than those of the man working with ten equals for use!

Practical try-out

All the charges against community spring from a confusion between accidentals and essentials. Community does not mean hermetic rusticity; does not mean a standard of living fit rather for a goat than a human being; does not mean eating and sleeping in sticky proximity without privacy or family life; does not mean dependence on outside support. Community means finding out by trial—yes, and if need be by error—how to make everyday bread-winning occupations the basis of a Good Life.

Quite obviously, not every trade is capable of being arranged without a large-scale economic revolution; equally obviously, the arrangements must vary infinitely with the different trades that exist. It follows that, as things are, community is a possibility only for those whose natural bent is towards one of these trades: for there is nothing more ruinous to the communal experiment than the participation of people who fancy brotherly love a sufficient substitute for absorption in the work itself. But more occupations than many dream are, even now, possible to conduct on a new footing; and far more help can be given by those outside than those outside like to think.

Reconsider your verdict!

The purpose of these two articles is to invite pacifists to reconsider their verdict on community. Five years ago, the topic was on everybody's lips—there was even a monthly supplement to Peace News to deal with it. Now it is scarcely mentioned. At the last PPU annual general meeting a resolution proposing help for communities was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

But what was more discouraging than the size of the opposition was its equal scorn and ignorance of the subject. It hardly becomes pacifists to treat as beneath consideration a movement to which such men as Eric Gill, Max Plowman and Middleton Murry have devoted the best of their energies.

Campaigning for this or that amelioration of the world's misery, however necessary in itself, cannot take the place of the drive for a different world altogether; still less can a litany of lamentations over this misery, and the barren policies that perpetuate it. A new will has got to be created, based on a conviction of what is good, and conviction is generated by experience.

There are those who assail the contributions to Peace News as "acrimonious," "negative" and "what-not." What would they substitute for them: blue-prints? Or the whispered results of a multitude of experiments in the application of morality to economics? If the latter, then let them get on and make the experiments. We shall listen, when they have something to say.

Words of Peace - No. 135

Cannons and firearms are cruel and damnable machines; I believe them to have been the direct suggestion of the devil. Against the flying ball no valour avails; the soldier is dead ere he sees the means of destruction. If Adam had seen in a vision the horrible instruments his children were to invent he would have died of grief.
—Martin Luther, "Table Talk" (1569).

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LETTERS

The nature of pacifism

THE subject of Mr. Murry's latest article is of such great and evident importance, if not to "pacifism," the nature of which would seem to be doubtful at least to the PPU, that I feel every attempt must be made to think the matter out freshly. The more so as it would seem that commentaries and letters about the article which have been printed would at best mitigate Mr. Murry's conclusions, and at worst condemn the author's thinking out of hand, and as I am unable to find a solution in either of these approaches; the more so since neither makes any contribution to thinking.

It has been asked most appositely in the course of this discussion "What is pacifism?", and clearly the only answer to this is that pacifism is an attempt on the part of an individual to translate a spiritual truth into a living act. The spiritual truth being simply that life is Holy. The history of the Church will demonstrate the difficulties of such a translation, and there is an added confusion in doing so when very young people start from the assumption (which of course contains truth) that it is their own life which is Holy, but this does not detract from the nature of pacifism but is only indicative of the degree of spiritual growth of the individual who takes the stand.

I am forced to see Mr. Murry's approach to pacifism as an Herculean effort to find a vehicle by which politics may be infused with an individual faith based upon conscience. Recently he seems to be coming to the conclusion that pacifism is not the means by which this can be done, and in fact this would seem to be the case; if it is, then we of the PPU are left simply a pledged and banded body of COs, which is rather indecorous to say the least.

So in my own view we are left with the statement that pacifism is at various levels of religious apprehension simply a way of saying that life is Holy and more important than that is an attempt to live it as such (in refusing above all to take life), and if this is irrelevant to a totalitarian society, well then it had better be, and at the peril of such society. Although here, with Mr. Murry, I am on doubtful ground, for he questions whether the martyrs of an evil society are the seed of a future church, and I am of course in no position to debate with him even if I had the ability, for this is one of the things that we don't know, and if we did know then the map of the progressive history of the world would have been unrolled.

The main point is that there comes a time when we must behave simply from the eloquence of the life we embody and not from any empirical knowledge of the ultimate good effect of our actions, and this I maintain is something very different from the irresponsible dogmatizing of those who reject Mr. Murry's deeply thoughtful analysis of our social position which, in fact, if the PPU does not examine it most closely, will prove its own validity by ostracizing us as irrespon-

sible COs, for it is for better or worse a statement in terms of the new age.

I believe that in recognizing its truth it is possible for the PPU to come alive to the responsibility of a living "movement"; but herein lies the paradox, for when it is, it will not know that it is, for "The wind bloweth where it listeth: Thou hearest the voice thereof but knowest not whence it cometh or whither it goeth: so is everyone who is of the Spirit." K. R. LAMBERT.

Knotting, Bedfordshire.
We hope to publish a selection of letters on this subject next week.—Ed.

P.S.U. children's holidays

May we repeat our urgent appeal made in Peace News on June 8 for offers of hospitality to enable us to send some of our slum children for holidays away from home? So far we have had only two offers in reply to our letter, but it is not too late and possibly some readers may be able to take a child later in the year.

To these children who have no knowledge of normal home life, the value of a holiday in an ordinary, comfortable home is inestimable. Many of them, while not actually needing hospital treatment, badly need the physical and mental recuperation which such a holiday provides, and will not be able to get it in any other way.

A good number of children have gone under Manchester Unit's scheme this summer—at least half to non-pacifist homes. In every case the hostesses have been delighted with their visitors, and have had the satisfaction of seeing them transformed in health and vitality.

We shall be glad to have further offers, from any part of the country.

TOM STEPHENS, Secretary,
Manchester and District Pacifist Service Unit, 86 Rusholme Rd., Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester 13.

Open-air meetings

In the PPU Public Action column of July 13 the time and place of open-air meetings held in Central London were specified. There was one omission. Meetings are held on Tower Hill from 1 to 2 p.m. every Monday. These meetings have been going on since 1938 unremittingly, and the speaker there would be very happy to see some PPU supporters occasionally, besides the devoted sellers of Peace News!

SYBIL MORRISON.

Patriotism and Christianity

An outspoken sermon on "Patriotism and Christianity" preached in Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, in April by Dr. E. W. Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham, has now been reprinted in pamphlet form by the Pacifist Council of the Christian Church (88 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.), price 3d. A discount of 33 1/3 per cent. is offered for bulk orders.

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gain.



WAR RESISTERS IN A WORLD AT WAR A veil is lifted

EXCEPTIONAL interest attached to the issue of The War Resister—the bulletin of the War Resisters' International—which has just been published (price 6d.).

It is the 50th number, and the jubilee alone would make it a special issue.

But it is also the first number to be published since the end of the European war, and the WRI is now able to lift part of the veil of secrecy that has had to cover so much of its work, not only during the war years but ever since the Nazis gained power in Germany.

GERMAN C.O.s

It gives a survey of conscientious objection in Germany, showing that "during the period between 1918 and 1933 there grew up throughout Germany a very extensive peace organization, with a quite considerable movement taking the more out-and-out pacifist position."

The final account of what actually happened to pacifists in Germany in 1939 cannot yet be written, but the story of Fritz Küster, secretary of the Germany Peace Society, as told by Runham Brown in The War Resister, gives an insight into the kind of delicate job which has often fallen to the lot of the WRI in the past 12 years.

Fritz Küster was arrested in 1933 in Berlin, and after a period during which he was moved from prison to prison, finished up in Buchenwald. Eventually, through "contact work" which Runham Brown describes—and which involved getting an intermediary to make a personal request to Himmler!—Fritz Küster's fiancée was granted an interview with him.

"The Commandant was surprised" (writes Runham Brown) "and stated that no single visitor had been to the camp for the last twelve months, but there was the permit, and Ingeborg, in the presence of SS men, met and talked with Fritz Küster."

Following a much later, surreptitious visit to Buchenwald by another "contact," says the account, "it was

clear at that time that there was no deliberate attempt to starve the men to death, although there were many mysterious deaths in the camp."

GOT HIS RELEASE

But although Fritz Küster remained in the camp, the WRI's contacts were not exhausted. Through a friend who knew a nephew of Hitler, it was possible to get a request conveyed to Berchtesgaden, the holy of holies of the Nazi State, which actually resulted in Fritz Küster's release—after 5½ years. He married Ingeborg, and up to 1941 was living in Hanover; the latest news is that he was "safe" in February this year.

Few such accounts end on such a comparatively cheerful note. The loneliness that faces the Continental resister can best be appreciated by reading The War Resister for yourself. Read what has been happening not only in Germany, but in France, Norway, Belgium, and many other countries—the other ends of those threads which, sometimes in devious ways, lead to a common centre, the WRI headquarters at 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex. J. W. C.

Thousands will die unless . . .

"THOUSANDS of people will starve and freeze to death in Europe this winter unless help can be rushed from outside." This is the conclusion reached in a factual report prepared by the US Office of War Information (quoted by the Daily Herald on Monday and by the Sunday Times).

"Tens of thousands will be hungry and cold," the report adds, "They will be jobless. If no help were to be forthcoming from the outside, they would almost certainly riot, because the authorities could not enable them to get the vital necessities of life."

"The economy of Europe has been running downhill fast. Production is already at unbearably low levels. Faced with a continued lack of food and of consumer goods which would give incentive to workers, lack of transport, and, chiefly, lack of coal, it would continue to fall steadily."

"As a whole, Europe will produce even less food this season than during the hungry war years. The shortages are now more severe than they were during the period of the German occupation: their production levels are lower, the physical situation of the people is worse."

BEHIND PRISON BARS . . .

From RIMA RAPER, our Paris correspondent

WHAT can it mean to those who have never experienced this? The craving for news, the longing to see the loved ones again, and the wild madness to be free again.

Is it peace yet for these poor war-victims? The war is over in Europe, and in its trail they have been dragged and scattered from home, love, decency—to a cage.

So little one can do, and yet—the little chats to encourage the breaking hearts, the little extra gifts of sustenance, the knowledge that someone is thinking of them and wants to help them, this is the magic power that can break the strength of the strongest prison bars.

How grateful they are, and for so little; getting them into contact again with their dear ones, giving them news, or putting them in the way of getting news.

Friends are quietly, earnestly, and modestly doing their work amongst the down-and-outs, the flotsam and jetsam. And the milk of human kindness, it is these, all the time—a warder kind though gruff, a sym-

pathetic nun eager to help the freed prisoners to find work and to support them till they do, a humane prison director.

Such suffering, so much succour needed, and so many kind hearts busying themselves everywhere, sending their gifts big and small to help the large army of Displaced Persons. If only the donors could see the sad face light up, the weary eyes brighten, feel the grateful handclasp!

Man's inhumanity to man changing, perhaps slowly, but changing all the same into the Divine scheme of humanity and universal brotherhood. We touch the hem of His garment in the throng of humanity surging round Him and not seeing Him, and are made whole: not only helped ourselves, but inspired with a passionate impatience to be up and doing, to help others not so fortunate. In every country there is the same need among the old, the suffering, and the helpless.

Peace needs its volunteers as much as war. You say you are old, you are in an out-of-the-way place, you are specially gifted, but there is something you, and you only, can do. Look around!

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EDUCATIONAL

BECKETTS SCHOOL Monmouthshire offers security and individual treatment for children aged 7—18 on beautiful estate. Gardening, care of animals and craft work. Apply Sec., Dan y Graig, nr. Glosmont, Mon.

FOR SALE & WANTED

ENGLISH PRIMROSES. Ready now. For naturalization or bedding. 7s. per doz. plants. Purple Orchids, hardy specimens for early spring display: 9s. 6d. per dozen. Orders accepted in advance for all types of winter and greenhouse plants. Plants packed under expert supervision, carriage paid. Haines, Nurserymen, 6 Pensons Gardens, St. Ebbes, Oxford.

FLAT-RED DUPLICATOR wtd. for pacifist group work. Donald Rodger, The Chalet, Ivythorn Hill, Street, Som.

MOTOR CYCLE wtd. for youth club activities; weekly payments; also football kit, etc., any candtn. Plumbridge, 3 Pera Place, Bath.

CAR WTD. (Midlands) to purchase by C.O.s stranded in country. Full details please. All letters answered. Box 71.

LAND & COMMUNITY

WANTED. PARTNERSHIP in market gnd. or nursery within easy access of North London. Box 72.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

STREET, Som. Week-end school, Aug. 25/26. Stuart Morris on International Aspects of Pacifism (2 sessions), Chairman, Laurence Housman; Is it Peace this Time? Chairman, George L. Smith. Details fm. Donald Rodger, The Chalet, Ivythorn Hill, Street, Som.

MEETINGS, &c.

TEACHERS' conference Aug. 25. 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. Friends' House, Euston Rd. "Freedom and discipline in Education." Spkr. W. B. Curry (Dartington Hall). Chairman, Dr. Alex. Wood. Parties from Patrick Figgis, P.P.U., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

BABY SHOW: at Bham P.P.U. Garden Party (for Dick Sheppard House Funds) Sat. Aug. 18, 3-9 p.m. 26 Bristol Rd. (Girls' Club) Bring baby's weight card.

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN, 19 Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

YOU WILL FIND true friendship in the L. and H.C. Correspondence Club. Send s.a.s. for particulars to Secretary, L. and H.C.C.C., 39 Reighton Rd., London, E.5.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends.

HOLIDAY USE of part-furn'd. cott. on Welsh border farm with quiet pony to ride offered free in return reasonable help. Hooper, Painscastle, Builth, Breconshire.

DEATH, on June 28, 1945, suddenly of illness, at Hastings, T. J. E. Warburton (Tom), son of Dr. Arthur Warburton and Evelyn Morgan, of "Arley," E. Molesey, and St. Leonards-on-Sea; and brother of Phyllis E. Warburton, Richmond, Surrey.

JUNE 28, 1945, "Tom" Warburton (Hastings, P.P.U.), Dear friend of "Jack" (Thorne).

VIENNESE LADY, 37, speaking English fluently, living in London, seeks congenial companion. Wd. also converse in German in return for dictation speed and corrections Pittman's shhnd. Box 73.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Philip and Phyllis (Evans) Brown have moved to 1 Arnsdale Place, York. Formerly of Vancouver, Bethesda, Coulsdon, London, E.11, N.W.5, N.19, etc.

YOUNG vegetarian couple, anxious to open much needed vegetarian restaurant south of London, want to contact "sleeping partner" with about £150 capital. Alternatively sympathetic person to lend similar amount at low interest. Any offers please to Box 79.

SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

ASSISTANT MASTER WANTED—resident or non-resident—in boys' private school, Wiltshire, to take either French or Science up to School Certificate, and general form subjects. Apply Box 20.

MARRIED COUPLE WANTED. Wife to undertake domestic duties. Husband gardening and odd jobs. Comfortable fully furnished accommodation with full board and periodic holidays. Good refs. essential. Madge Evans, Holton Rd., Barry.

BECKETTS SCHOOL requests teacher qualified or degreed and experienced with problem children. Knowledge of craft work desirable. Apply giving full particulars to The Sec., Becketts School, Dan y Graig, nr. Glosmont, Mon.

HOLIDAY POST offered student or other, willing to battle with neglected small gdn. in cntry. Quiet for study. Half-time work—board and salary. Box 74.

VACANCY for woman (or married couple considered) to take responsible share in domestic work, cooking, and management of farmhouse lodging about 12 people. Practical capacity, initiative and sympathy with pioneer work in co-operative farming are req'd. Apply with full particulars to John Middleton Murry, Lodge Farm, Theltham, via Diss, Norfolk.

SMALL war-time market gardening community, probably closing December, urgently requires help to clear crops. Also housekeeper wtd. Rough comfort but friendly atmosphere. Even one week's part-time labour wd. help. Gloucester Land Scheme, Hempstead, Gloucester.

EDUCATED young lady req'd. for younger pupils, private school Tunbridge Wells. Experience not essential. Box 75.

RESIDENT COOK welcomed in small school Tunbridge Wells. Gd. wages, light duties. Homely surroundings. Box 76.

COUNTRY PRINTERS are wanting a Printers Reader: applications to Box 77.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED PROFESSIONAL Secretarial Service. Duplicating, etc. Mabel Eyles, 84 The Vale, Southgate, N.14. PAL. 7386.

PART-TIME WORK at home wtd. to provide sufficient income to enable advertiser to develop Y.H.A. and other socially important but not very remunerative work. Box 66.

EXPERIENCED lady sec-stenographer seeks post. Accurate worker, possessing commonsense. Shhnd., typewriting, knowledge book-keeping. Age 41. Salary £4. Box 68.

PANEL BEATING req'd. evenings, weekends, North London, by C.O. wanting to gain experience in preparation for exam. Welding already taken. Suggestions to C.B.C.O., Employment Section, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

C.B.C.O. Employment Section, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, would like to have details of clerical vacancies in the London area.

MISCELLANEOUS

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday, 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

REG. J. BAILEY, M.S.F., N.C.P., Osteopath and Naturopath. Nature-cure treatment of disease.

REGINALD BAILEY, N.C.P., Psychiatrist and Specialist in Eye Treatment (Bates Method), 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. Consultations by appointment. Postal advice given. Palmers Green 7868.

ALLYSOL—SEND stamps 5d. for two 20-page booklets of life-conserving information about garlic: (1) a herbal remedy with 5,000 years of history; (2) Rheumatism and Catarrh dissolved at their root. Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders' books, prepares Profit and Loss Accounts, Balance Sheets and Income Tax Returns. Company formations arranged. Audits and Costing undertaken. Box 996.

THE CONSCRIPTION DANGER

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

general consent, democracy must break.

These are times of prodigiously rapid change. In 1906 the Liberals were returned by an even bigger majority than Labour now has. I cheered till my schoolboy throat was hoarse when the Radical candidate for Camberwell quoted "A man's a man for a' that." Where are the Liberals now? During the 39 years since 1906 the tempo of change has increased almost beyond imagination. The Labour Party may well find itself in fragments in ten years. It is, whether it knows it or not, struggling on the edge of a precipice. So is the country itself. So is Europe.

If Labour can do the job, Britain will save itself by its own exertions, and Europe by its example. It will offer a pattern to Europe which is a valid and better alternative to totalitarian communism.

The coming tests

ALREADY, the repercussions are being felt. In France, they are thinking, if Churchill can go, why not de Gaulle? In Russia, that a form of Socialism may emerge in Britain that will claim the allegiance of Europe after all. In USA that Labour's policies may make nonsense of their dream of a return to "private enterprise" and unlimited trade-competition. And all these things are really possible, because of the British plain man's weariness and deep suspicion of the old gang: his belief that "they" would do him out of his hope of better things.

If he should find that there are plenty of "them" in the ranks of the Labour Party; if he should discover that he himself, or a great part of him, really belongs to "them," then a condition of moral confusion will ensue, in which the hopes of Europe will be blighted. Now, he has given those who promised him "a new deal" the power to perform their promise. Have they the imagination to conceive, and the courage to execute? To cut clean adrift from the insensate policy of doubling our pre-war export-trade, at the inevitable cost of domestic impoverishment; to cut adrift equally from the coming armament race between one half of the world and the other. If it does not do such simple and revolutionary things, its promises will come to nothing.

Peace-time conscription?

ON the eve of the election result was announced the decision "in principle" of the Trade Union Congress General Council to adopt the system of military conscription for all peace-time. With its various qualifications we need not concern ourselves: in this case, pre-eminently, it is the principle that matters. And, unless the influence of the TUC on the Labour Party is a good deal less than it was, it looks as though the first strong Labour Government in British history will have the sinister distinction of introducing peace-time military conscription into this country. That would be a strange irony. But that is how things too often happen.

Anyhow, it would be foolish to assume that the Labour Government will not do it, though it may hesitate. It is impossible to say how far the spirit of the Labour movement has moved

Stricter watch on C.O.s' conditions

Until very recently some tribunals have allowed conditionally registered COs to write to them informally asking for their conditions of registration to be added to or varied and, if the tribunal thought fit, this was allowed without a formal hearing. Reports reaching the Board from different parts of the country suggest that most, if not all, tribunals have now stopped considering this kind of informal approach.

This means that the only way in which tribunal conditions can be changed is by the case being referred back to the tribunal by the Ministry of Labour on the ground that the CO concerned has failed to comply with his conditions and had "reasonable excuse" for his failure. This is the only procedure provided by the National Service Acts. There are signs that "reasonable excuse" is being interpreted fairly strictly.

towards the evil modern combination of Socialism and militarism. But that the USSR exercises a powerful attraction in this direction is very probable. The Labour Party needs to be awakened to the realisation that democracy and military conscription in peace-time are ultimately incompatible.

Your duty!

IN theory, military conscription looks democratic enough. But the inevitable result is to give the permanent professional military class an undue weight in the body politic. The history of the Third Republic in France was one of continuous tension between the Army leaders and the political leaders: which on more than one occasion split France from top to bottom, and powerfully contributed to the political paralysis of pre-war France.

Equally dangerous is the process of conditioning into militaristic ideas to which youth is continuously subjected. And since the danger is already great—owing to the prestige of Russia—that Socialism may develop into a militaristic organisation of the whole of society, it is of vital importance if democratic Socialism is to become a reality, that it should be adamant against military conscription in peace.

Comparisons with a small and still democratic country like Switzerland are quite beside the mark. The Swiss army is, in the nature of things, for defence alone. Military conscription in a democratic Great Power is not. Let us hope that the same rough instinct which moves Britain to stick to the two-party system will move it also to reject conscription.

But do not leave it to chance, dear reader. Write to your new Labour MP today and tell him, politely but firmly, that you expect him to do his duty on this matter.

A Brief educational survey

A BRIEF survey reveals the astonishing fact that no more than an infinitesimal percentage of the population today receive systematic instruction in the art of living or the values which men ought to pursue, no matter what school they attend, nor for how many years.

Some seventy per cent. of our children leave school at 14: the age is soon to be raised to 15, and later to 16.

It is computed that less than 15 per cent. of the population attend church with any degree of regularity. In any event, religion has become almost completely divorced from the economic and industrial life of the community, in which men's values are actually determined in the great majority of cases.

With few exceptions the churches have ceased to exercise any spiritual influence upon society, for the reason that in one way and another they are tied up with privilege. On the whole they accept, and to some extent share, the privileges of a capitalist social order, the fruits of a power-politics by which powerful classes and nations live on the labour of poor and impotent classes and nations.

A sprinkling of children attend Sunday Schools, but at 14 they begin to drift away, and at 16 few are left.

A moderate number of young folk have latterly been roped into clubs, but it is difficult to hold them after they have reached 16.

We are thus confronted with the alarming fact that an overwhelming majority of youth are wholly unconnected with any cultural institution whatever at the age of 16. Hence they pick up their values as they pick up their songs, and usually from the same places.

So completely has the realisation of the importance of a knowledge of values vanished from our society, that few people appear to be alarmed by the fact that all but a fraction of the nation's adolescents are floundering in a moral and spiritual wilderness from 16 years onward. But where can they go for guidance? Where, in Britain, can her youth turn for instruction in values, reasoned guidance on the conditions of a full and happy life?

There are no adult educational institutions

Until enemy becomes a friend we have not won

—SAYS A FIELD MARSHAL'S SOLDIER SON

THE need for the "scientific approach" in dealing with Germany "which amounts to a simple appreciation of the principles of Christian psychology," was advocated in a remarkable letter in the Manchester Guardian (July 26) from Major the Hon. Christopher Birdwood, son of Field Marshal Lord Birdwood. He declared that the psychologist would say "there is only one effective moment... at which to shake your enemy by the hand, and that is at the moment of defeat."

"In direct proportion to the length of time you maintain a cold detached control over your enemy's affairs, so do the seeds of eventual revenge gather strength," the letter continued. "The final victory is Hitler's and until your enemy is your friend you have not defeated him. As certainly as the present policy will ensure peace in the time of those who enforce it, it will foster war between children whose fate it may be to inherit the whole international set-up of the conqueror and the conquered."

"I am sometimes asked how I, until recently a soldier of many years of service, can hold such views. Are they not a betrayal of the dead and their sacrifice? What a travesty of truth! May we not suppose that those who died with a deeper revelation of the values for which they fought, could only have regarded death as of value if they could think that, through their death, the children of England and Germany, and indeed of all the world, were being led to that state of mutual respect and Christian fellowship, which Christ himself would only have sanctioned as handing on in history the torch which he lit so many years ago?"

by WILFRED WELLOCK

This is the second article in a short series, the first of which we published three weeks ago. The third article will appear shortly.

in which a knowledge of values, or education for life, is the vital and central concern, or is even mentioned. University education has for long enough been moving in a "practical," that is, a scientific and commercial direction, in harmony with the growing materialism of the age, an age that is now almost completely dominated by power-politics. The Humanities, together with the discussions which once flowed from them, are rapidly passing into oblivion.

Teachers' training colleges are on the whole cramming institutions, although some attention is now being paid to crafts, which have a creative value.

Teachers and schoolmasters in schools and colleges are up against the demand for technicians, boys and girls who are capable of taking part in the drive for a big export trade or in improving the killing power of armaments, while commercialism is increasingly compelling art masters to become the servants of advertising.

Is the situation in the voluntary or semi-voluntary adult educational institutions any more promising?

The adult classes now being run by many local educational authorities are in the main vocational in the narrow sense, although many women's classes are devoted to handicrafts, which at least do something to stimulate an appreciation of creative values.

The Women's Institutes are also reviving many valuable domestic arts and crafts, which is commendable as far as it goes.

There are hopeful signs that the Young Farmers' Clubs now springing up will deepen interest in agriculture as a creative vocation.

The Women's Co-operative Guilds have done excellent work in developing a social and political awareness in working women, also a keen interest in peace, but apart from shopping at the Co-op., their appeal has been political rather than personal.

The Adult School Movement encourages discussion on life's values, but as an institution it has failed to connect a knowledge of values with the vital need of personal and social revolution.

The highly organised WEA is in much the same position. No vital issue is debarred from its discussions, provided it is treated objectively. Values are in order, but the WEA has no lecture course which indicates a recognition of the importance of a change of values as a necessary prelude to a new social order.

The National Council of Labour Colleges is wholly political in outlook.

In view of the situation which this brief survey reveals, is it to be wondered at that chaos reigns in the world, and that civilisation is in a state of decay? If there be no unity in men's minds, how can unity exist in the social order? A knowledge of values is an indispensable condition of soul-unity, yet in none of the major educational institutions of our land is such knowledge being imparted. What is the cause of this most perilous situation?

—AND HERE IS A BISHOP'S VIEW

"Retribution.—I happened to come across the other day a maxim of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius which seems to me most apposite to our present situation. 'The noblest form of retribution is not to become like our enemies.' Our enemies have shown themselves vindictive, unjust, cruel, oppressive, aggressive. In our treatment of them we must avoid all these things. We must punish them but in a spirit of justice and not of vengeance."

"Wisdom.—We can only make a good peace if our statesmen and people learn to be wise. Wisdom is something very different from cleverness and depends upon character and conduct. After the last war the journalistic cry of 'Hang the Kaiser' made the whole nation unbalanced and destroyed their judgment. It must be recognised that in a country like ours with our democratic traditions the judgment and conduct of our statesmen is inevitably conditioned by the mind of the people. We cannot be without responsibility for what they do, and there are many ill-conditioned advisers who would have us treat our opponents and make our peace in a spirit of vindictiveness and hatred; if we do so we shall certainly pay the penalty in years to come."

"Christian Reconstruction in Europe... I hope that as soon as possible we may be able to get in touch with many continental churches, and especially with Germany. Many German pastors have been among the sufferers from the war and the Nazi regime, and it will be only through Christian influence that it will be possible to do away with the bitter feelings war has engendered. We must try to be good Christians."

—Bishop of Gloucester in his Diocesan magazine for June.

The latest in human guinea pigs!

"In Pasadena, California, a dozen conscientious objectors are burning the candle at both ends. Since 5.45 a.m. Monday they have been working all day chopping wood, gardening, sweeping floors, and all night long they wander around the streets. One thing they must not do until 10 p.m. Friday is sleep. It is all part of an Army test of fatigue's effect on the human system."—Daily Express, July 26.

Laurence Housman birthday celebration

LADY SNOWDEN and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence have now promised to speak at the PPU gathering next Friday, Aug. 10, to celebrate Laurence Housman's 80th birthday, in addition to those speakers already announced (Dame Sybil Thorndike, John Middleton Murry, H. Runham Brown, and Dr. Alex. Wood, who preside).

The meeting will start at 7 p.m. in the small meeting house, Friends' House, Euston Rd., N.W.1. Admission is by ticket only. Tickets are still obtainable, price 1s., from Patrick Figgis, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

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